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ABSTRACT

Data from a larger ethnolinguistic study are presented to demonstrate patterns of pupil-teachers exchanges between bilingual children and monolingual teachers in an urban nursery school in England. Children were aged 3-4 years. Naturally-occurring discourse data were audiotaped and substantial contextual data was gathered. Analysis of patterns in child-adult interactions, and comparison of interactions between (1) monolingual teachers and bilingual pupils and (2) bilingual adults and the same bilingual pupils, suggest that the power relationship inherent in patterns of monolingual teacher-pupil interactions (and established in previous research) assume greater significance in interactions between monolingual teachers and bilingual pupils. A generic pattern of adjacency pairs of bilingual interactions and one-language interactions is outlined. Examples are drawn from discourse. (MSE)

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Patterns of cross-cultural communication between bilingual pupils & monolingual teachers in a UK pre-school setting

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Abstract

This paper presents data from a larger scale ethnolinguistic study, carried out in the north-east of England (Thompson, 1993 & 1994) to demonstrate patterns of pupil-teacher exchanges between bilingual children and monolingual teachers in an urban nursery school, when the informants were aged between three and four years. Naturally occurring discourse data were collected using candid audio-tape recorders. These were complemented by *thick* contextual (Geertz, 1975) data. Analysis of patterns of adult-child interactions and compare the pattern of interactions between monolingual teachers and bilingual pupils and bilingual adults and the same bilingual pupils suggests that the power relationship inherent in patterns of monolingual teacher-pupil interactions previously described (cf Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) assume greater significance in the interactions between monolingual teachers and bilingual pupils. A generic pattern of adjacency pairs of bilingual interactions and one language interactions is outlined.

UK Context

Compulsory education begins at five years in the UK. Significant numbers of children attend nursery or pre-school classes before this age. Two surveys carried out in the 1980's confirmed Britain as a multilingual society. The Linguistic Minorities Project (LMP, 1985) reported one hundred and fifty-four languages spoken in London primary schools. Two years later the 1987 Language Consensus found no fewer than one hundred and seventy-two languages spoken in Inner London primary schools. There is therefore strong evidence to suggest that there are significant numbers of bilingual pupils in mainstream British education. Despite this there has been little analysis of the interactions between monlingual teachers and bilingual pupils in these classrooms.

This paper presents the findings of an ethnolinguistic study carried out in the north-east of England into the language behaviour of a group of twelve children, six boys and six girls, during their first term in school. The informants, aged between three years and four months (3.4) and three years and seven months (3.7), are third generation British born, into families of Pakistani origin. They are Muslims from the Mirpur region. They speak Mirpuri, vernacular Urdu-Panjabi, and English.

The study draws from two theoretical perspectives: The Hallidayan tradition of language as socio-semiotic (Halliday, 1975 & 1978) which describes discourse as semantic choice in social contexts and Conversational Analysis (Auer, 1991; Garfinkel, 1967 & Sacks et al, 1974). The paper combines these perspectives in an analytical description of the interactions between monolingual teachers and bilingual pupils, and bilingual teachers and the same bilingual pupils. Data were collected from two complementary sources. Naturally occurring discourse data were gathered using audio-taped recordings of the children's language use. These were combined with *thick* (Geertz, 1975) contextual data to provide a descriptive account of the ways in which the young informants were learning to be *communicatively competent* (Hymes, 1972) in their new social context.

The Box Hill Nursery Project

The Box Hill Nursery Project is not a study of bilingual education. Rather, it is the study of bilingual children's experience of formal schooling in an English medium nursery school. The central aim of the project was to investigate the ways in which the children were being enculturated into their new social context. The study was carried out in Cleveland in the north-east of England. It is a region with a population of around 554,000, of whom an estimated 7,000 are members of settled migrant communities. 5,000 of these are from the continent of south-east Asia, mainly but not exclusively from, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. Of these around 2,000 have originated from Pakistan. The linguistic, cultural and religous diversity of the region is a reflection of Britain's colonial past.

The study provides an analytical description of the social and linguistic behaviour of a group of twelve bilingual children (six boys and six girls) as they begin their formal education in an urban nursery school where they constitute a linguistic minority. They are aged between three years and four months (3.4) and three years and seven months (3.7), are third generation British born, into families of Pakistani origin.

Data were gathered from two complementary sources: Naturally occurring discourse data were gathered using lightweight Sanyo Micro TalkBook (TRC 6000) audio-recorders. Powerful lapel microphones, with a five metre recording range, provide a record of the linguistic environment as experienced by each of the informants. The recording equipment was concealed within protective jackets worn by the children. Placebo jackets were worn by those children present in the nursery but not under direct observation. These discourse data were complemented by *thick* (Geertz, 1975) contextual data. Semi-structured observation schedules were devised to record the children's behaviour in the nursery, the activities in which each informant engaged and their interlocutors. Observations were carried out on three separate occasions during the informants' first term in the nursery school. Each informant was observed on their first day in school, and on two subsequent occasions during the next three months. Each period of observation yielded one hour of continuous discourse data for each informant. The corpus comprises thirty-six hours of naturally occurring discourse data.

There were five stages involved in the coding and preparation of the transcripts:

Stage 1	transcription of the audio-tapes
Stage 2	combining the transcriptions of the audio-tapes with the contextual information from the observation schedules
Stage 3	adding the codes to the transcripts
Stage 4	feedback from those present in the nursery at the time of the data collection and from the families of the informants
Stage 5	refinement of the transcripts in light of Stage 4

The transcripts, prepared in the way described above, are the basis for the analyses and comments which follow.

The paper will present samples of data from the corpus to compare the nature of interactions between the bilingual pupils and monolingual teachers and bilingual pupils and bilingual teachers. In the transcripts discourse turns are coded E for utterances in English; M-P for utterances in Mirpuri-Panjabi; and ♋ for code-switches.

Consider the following extract:

Extract 1 Interaction between a boy Ishtiaq (4.7) and a bilingual teacher

1	Biling T:	M-P
2	Monoling T:	will you say thank you for me to …
3		M-P
4	Biling T:	M-P
5		♋E what's her name?
6	Biling T:	M-P♋Mrs. Malloch
7	Ishtiaq:	M-P
8	Mushtifaq:	M-P
9	Ishtiaq:	M-P
10	Biling T:	E Christopher, Paul are you swearing?
11	Biling T:	M-P

It is clear from the data that Ishtiaq's contribution to the discourse has a pivotal function. On the one hand he has been conducting a sustained interaction with a bilingual teacher and a bilingual boy, Mushtifaq (MI). Simultaneously, he has been listening to a conversation between two boys, Christopher and Paul who are playing nearby. Their conversation is conducted in English. Ishtiaq takes the opportunity to report to the teacher that the boys are swearing (inappropriate school behaviour). This he has overheard in English. By doing this he is demonstrating not only an understanding of the English language but also an understanding of the social rules of appropriate pupil behaviour. He has demonstrated an awareness of the conventions associated with taboo language (swearing). When the teacher questions Christopher and Paul about their language, Ishtiaq uses the opportunity to move away and continue playing with his bilingual peers in another area of the nursery.

This small sample of language behaviour demonstrates a number of factors relating to Ishtiaq's developing communicative competence:

1. It demonstrates Ishtiaq's understanding of English. He has overheard and understood the conversation between Christopher and Paul.

2. It demonstrates a developing awareness of appropriate language use in the specific context of the nursery classroom. Ishtiaq already appreciates some of the rules that govern appropriate language behaviour in given social contexts. He has recognised taboo language use (swearing) as inappropriate behaviour in the classroom.

3. Ishtiaq is also learning to behave like a pupil. He reports the inappropriate behaviour that he has observed to the teacher. This concurs with Willes (1983) findings that children very quickly become socialised as pupils and adopt the norms of appropriate school behaviour.

Ishtiaq's behaviour serves to support Halliday's statement about young children learning language. Halliday (1973:14) states that 'the young child, still primarily a learner, can do what very few adults can do in such situations: he can be internalising language while listening and talking. He can be, effectively, both a participant and an observer at the same time ... his own critical involvement in this complex (bilingual) interaction does not prevent him form profiting linguistically or socially from it. It is suggested that Ishtiaq is allowed to demonstrate his developing communicative competence as a bilingual because his adult interlocutor shares his linguistic repertoire. There is support for this view when the nature of his contribution to the discourse illustrated in Extract 1 is compared with his interations with a monolingual teacher on the same day, while engaged in a different activity.

Extract 2 Interaction between Ishtiaq and a monolingual teacher

Ishtiaq is engaged in a painting activity with three other bilingual children, two girls, Sabia and Rabila and a boy, Mushtifaq. There are also two monolingual teachers present. Consider the following sample of data from the corpus.

1	**Monoling T1**	**you're all going to paint**
2	**Ishtiaq:**	**yea**
3	Monoling T1:	you need one of these, Ishtiaq and Shazia
4	Monoling T1:	That's right, Shazia watch me, watch. Ishtiaq, there's water in here,
5		Ishtiaq water in here
6	Ishtiaq:	Yea
7	Monoling T1:	and then the paint
8	Ishtiaq:	Yea
9	Monoling T1:	and then put the paint in there
10	Ishtiaq:	Yea
11	T1:	and then you can paint with it on your paper.
12	Ishtiaq:	mmm
13	Monoling T1:	You can show me what to do. Take a brush, and then some water for
14		it, and then some paint, and into your pallette, that's it. Ishtiaq when
15		you want to use another colour, wash your brush in the water. Wash
16		your brush in the water. Wash it really well. Then choose another colour.
17	Monoling T1:	I'm going to have ...
18	Monoling T1:	Put it in here again. That's right.
19	**Mushtifaq:**	**yea**
20	Monoling T1:	Red, that's bright red, red.
21	Ishtiaq:	Red
22	Monoling T1:	What colour have you painted, Ishtiaq? What colour's this?
23	Ishtiaq:	Red
24	Monoling T1:	Red mmm now wipe your brush. I think it needs to be washed a little
25		bit more than that it's still ...I'd put it back in the water or it will make
26		your paints dirty. That's better. No, not straight onto your paper ...
27		now onto the paper, mmm. Shazia what colour are you going to choose
28		now?
29		what do you like? Start again or ... it's a lovely colour isn't it?
30	Ishtiaq:	M-P
31	Monoling T1:	Like the sunshine
32	T1:	That's pale pink there Ishtiaq and darker pink. The only thing that
33		attracts the sun is red.
34	Monoling T1:	Who brought you today? I've never seen your daddy before. Is that
35	(to another child)	Daddy? Bigger children at home
36	Monoling T1:	quite big isn't she? Andrew was big as well (reference to an older brother).
37	**Ishtiaq:**	**you can do**
38	Monoling T1:	What's that for Ishtiaq? You've got an apron, haven't you? Come over
39		here, come over here, Mushtifaq.
40	Monoling T1:	Here we go. I don't think you'll reach the paint if you don't. Come,
41		come around here. Come around here. Look, ... don't very well any
42		way, into the water. Is there any paint on your paper? It's a lovely
43		colour. It's a lovely red.
44	Monoling T1:	Come and see what's going on here. Look at this. What lovely colours.
45	Monoling T1:	The little ones can't reach very well there. It's too far for them. You
46		could ... Oh look at that beautiful green you've got. Let me see that
47		green.
48	Monoling T1:	I can't make a good green. It's not the best green is it?
49	Monoling T1	Put the blue and the yellow
50	Monoling T1:	in the pallette

Throughout this interaction Ishtiaq's contribution to the discourse is minimal. It adheres closely to the I-R-F pattern of classroom interactions described by Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), with the monolingual teacher directing the discourse and the pupil participants.

There is however one notable exception. The interaction (emphasised in bold) between Mushtifaq and Ishtiaq is particularly noteworthy (Line 37). In this instance Ishtiaq breaks the pattern of the I-R-F model of classroom interaction to initiate an exchange with a fellow bilingual pupil Mushtifaq. It is significant that he chooses English as the language of the interaction. His utterance: **you can do**, is unformed grammatically and may be described as non-standard. However, it carries the communicative force to include Mushtifaq in the painting activity. The utterance, combined with the act of getting an apron (appropriate painting clothing) achieves this. However, the action and utterance (probably unheard) are misinterpreted by the monolingual teacher who asks 'what's that for Ishtiaq? You've got an apron, haven't you?'

There has been a lack of understanding between the teacher and and Ishtiaq. Ishtiaq already demonstrated that he lacks the communicative strategies to explain his intentions to the teacher. The prevailing norms of classroom discourse would probably prohibit any explanation as inappropriate behaviour anyway. Extract 3 illustrates a similar breakdown in the communication in pupil-teacher communication. This time the pupil is a girl, Shazad and a different monolingual teacher (T2).

Extract 3 Interaction between a girl Shazad (3.5) and monolingual teacher 2

The following sample from the data demonstrates the way in which Shazad is anxious to conform as a pupil and to comply with teacher requests. The exchange takes place

almost at the end of the school day when the teacher is gathering the children together for a story session.

1	Monoling T2:	carpet time
2	**Shazad:**	**Rabila back**
3	Monoling T2:	come on Shazad on the carpet please
4	Shazad:	(inaudible utterance)
5	Monoling T2:	on the carpet please
6	Shazad:	M-P
7	Shazad:	M-P
8	Monoling T2:	(in the distance) get off the chair please, Melanie
9	Loud voice:	teacher, teacher teacher
10	Monoling T2:	up you go (moves her away) Shazad stand up please, sit down there please
11	Shazad:	M-P
12	Monoling T2:	you won't be able to see the story

There then follows a teacher led story telling activity which lasts for ten minutes. In Line 2 Shazad chooses English to tell the teacher that her friend, Rabila is not there. Of course the utterance: 'Rabila back' does not achieve this goal. Indeed it is not understood by the teacher, whose main concern at that moment is getting all of the children seated in a circle on the carpet so they can see the book and enjoy the story session. One interpretation of Shazad's utterance is that it was unsuccessful. However, despite the obvious lack of success in the communication between Shazad and the teacher, there is evidence of developing communicative competence in Shazad's utterance. She has chosen English as the preferred language for this interaction. This shows a developing sense of linguistic awareness, since the teacher is monolingual. The fact that Shazad's utterance is ineffective is less significant than her appropriate choice of language for the interaction. She is trying to tell the teacher that her firend Rabila, is not in the room - she is not yet back. This is another example from the data of a bilingual pupil's choice of English for an interaction with a teacher being misunderstood.

Using the data from the Box Hill Nursery Project (extracts of which have been presented here) it is possible to formulate a generic pattern of the exchanges between monolingual teachers and bilingual pupils in terms of the discourse options available

to each speaker. The proposed framework draws on two theoretical perspectives: Conversational Analysis and Systemic Linguisitcs. The following sections will provide a brief description of these fields as background to the proposed generic framemworks.

Conversational Analysis

Conversational Analysis (Auer, 1991; Garfinkel, 1967 and Sacks et al, 1974) focuses on the organisation of the interactions that take place between indiviual speakers. An important feature of Conversational Analysis is the significance that it attaches to turn-taking. Discourse is organised into a sequence of exchanges, with one speaker's turn (or discourse contribution) leading to that of any subsequent speaker. Schlegloff & Sacks (1973) use the term 'adjacency pair' to describe the paired utterances that occur in discourse. Adjacency pairs are sequentially constrained. The first utterance (of the pair) creates the environment for the second utterance (of the exchange). Schlegloff & Sacks (1973) describe a number of prototype adjacency pairs which in English include formulaic exchanges like question-answer sequences. Central to the concept of adjacency pairs is the notion that the first speaker establishes conditionally relevant expectations of the subsequent speaker(s). While interlocutors can fail to fulfil the conditionally relevant expectations by using inappropriate second pair parts in the exchange, this 'noticeable absence' is frequently perceived as a lack of communicative competence on the part of the second speaker. When the first speaker is the teacher and the second speaker is a bilingual child, this noticeable absence assumes a greater significance.

From this theoretical perspective a generic pattern of the exchanges between monolingual teachers and bilingual pupils in terms of the discourse options available to each speaker is proposed. Interactions where the interlocutors use only one language for their exchanges will be termed one-language (L1) discourse. A generic pattern of one-language interactions is proposed as follows:

Speaker 1	Teacher	(Initiates)		
Speaker 2	Pupil	Discourse Option 1	Silence	**or**
Speaker 2	Pupil	Discourse Option 2	Non-verbal Response	**or**
Speaker 2	Pupil	Discourse Option 3	Responds in the teacher's language	

In keeping with the Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) I-R-F model, it is the teacher's who speaks first, and it is this utterance that creats the environment for the second speaker. When the teacher is a monolingual native speaker of the official language of the school curriculum, and the dominant societal language then this will be the language of the initiating utterance. For young learners, who are speakers of other languages and who are at an early stage in learning the official language of the school, their contribution to the on-going exchange is limited to the three options outlined: silence, a non-verbal response or a response in the teacher's language.

The extracts presented from the corpus indicate that when bilingual pupils opt for Discourse Option 3, and speak the teacher's language (in these contexts, English), they are not always understood. The I-R-F model exemplifies the extent of the teacher's influence on the discourse of classrooms. Teachers nominate speakers, direct their actions and responses and moderate their contribution to the on-going discourse. A power differential already exists in the classroom. However, it is suggested that this differential is increased in the classrooms where the teacher is a monolingual speaker of the language of the official school curriculum, and the pupils are speakers of other languages who have the potential to become bilingual. The imposition of one language on the interactions, limits the range of communicative competence that the young (potentially) bilingual pupil can demonstrate. The extent of this influence becomes apparent when the generic pattern of adjacency pairs or

discourse options available to one language exchanges is compared to the options avaialble to speakers with more than one language in their linguistic repertoire.

Code-switching as a feature of bilingual interactions

A unique feature of the bilingual speaker's linguistic repertoire is the ability to draw on more than one language in their interactions with others. Bilinguals have a choice of languages that they can use for interaction. For the informants in this study the choice is their home language Mirpuri-Panjabi, and to a lesser degree of competence English, or a combination of the two. There is also a third possibility. The combined use of two or more languages is an established linguistic phenomenon, described in the literature as code-switching. Poplack (1980) identifies three types of code-switching: lexical (at word level); inter-sentential (the use of two languages within the same sentence); and intra-sentential (switches that coincide with sentence boundaries). Thompson (1995) identifies a fourth type that coincides with the speaker's discourse turn.

It is possible to outline a generic pattern of two language discourse based on a sequential analysis of code-switching at the level of turn-taking. Speaker 1 sets the scene with their choice of language. (This will be termed L1). When Language 1 is English and Speaker 2 is a monolingual speaker of English, then English has to be language choice for the second utterance. Silence or non-verbal responses may be acceptable alternatives. By comparision, when Speaker 2 has more than one language in their linguistic repertoire, this increases the discourse options available. These can be outlined as:

Discourse Option 1	Silence	(S)
Discourse Option 2	Non-verbal response	(NVR)
Discourse Option 3	Language 1	(L1)
Discourse Option 4	Language 2	(L2)
Discourse Option 5	L1 with subsequent code-switch into L2	(L1 ⇒ L2)
Discourse Option 6	L1 with two susequent code-switches	(L1 ⇒ L2 ⇒ L1)
Discourse Option 7	L2 with subsequent code-switch back into L1	(L2 ⇒ L1)

In classrooms with bilingual pupils Discourse Option 1, silence, is sometimes misunderstood by monolingual teachers as lack of understanding on the part of the child. This may not always be the case. A child may have understood what has been said by a speaker but may lack the linguistic and social knowledge of appropriate response. Discourse Options 2 non-verbal response, is equally open to misinterpretation. Gestures, facial expressions, eye contact are all examples of non-verbal responses. Non-verbal behaviours are linked to language systems. They are open to mis-understanding in cross-cultural interactions. Discourse Options 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 all require of the speaker and the listener an understanding of both linguistic systems and the accompanying rules of social behaviour.

When the discourse particpants speak more than one language there is a richer range of discourse options become available. Code-switching can be regarded as a diverse linguistic resource from which an individual speaker may draw to communicate effectively. Bilingual children therefore have a choice of languages available for selected interactions. The children in the study make a choice between using English, Mirpuri-Panjabi or a mixture of the two. Code-switching as a language choice remains the linguistic privilege of those individuals who can speak and understand more than one language.

To make a link between code-switching as language choice and the description of language as socio-semiotic, it is necessary to inspect more closely the role of code-switching in the turn-by-turn organisation of the interactions between the interlocutors. Conversational Analysis offers a means of doing this. The principles of Conversational Analysis have been outlined by Auer (1991) and the American ethnomethodologists including Garfinkel (1967) and Sacks et al (1974). These approaches focus on the organisation of interactions between individuals in their exchanges. They reinforce the systemic linguistic description of talk as a social activity. One important feature of Conversational Analysis is the significance it attaches to turn-taking within the organisation of an exchange. Discourse is organised into a sequence of exchanges, with one speaker's turn (or discourse contribution) leading to that of another speaker. This sequential organisation of conversation has been described by Schegloff & Sacks (1973). They use the term 'adjacency pair' to describe the paired utterances that occur. Adjacency pairs are sequentially constrained in that the first utterance of the pair creates the environment for the second utterance of the exchange. Schegloff & Sacks (1973) describe a number of prototypes of adjacency pairs which include formulaic exchanges (in English) like question-answer sequences and greetings. Central to this concept of adjacency pairs is that the first speaker establishes conditionally relevant expectations for their discourse partner(s). Interlocutors can fail to fulfil the conditionally relevant expectations by uttering inappropriate second pair parts in their exchange. This 'noticeable absence' is frequently perceived as a lack of communicative competence on the part of the second speaker. When the second speaker is a bilingual pupil, the resulting assessment can have unfortunate consequences. To date, little is known about the patterns of bilingual discourse in UK primary school classrooms. A sequential analysis of code-switching at the level of turn-taking provides an overview of the recurring patterns of language choice based on data from the corpus. These generic patterns of the bilingual pupils' language are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.

The following diagrams illustrate the generic pattern of code-switching strategies observed in the Box Hill Nursery Project data. Speaker 1 sets the the scene with their choice of language. This will be termed the *frame language* (FL). When the frame language is English and Speaker 2 is a monolingual English speaker then there are only three discourse options available to that speaker. English has to be the language of the next utterance. Acceptable alternatives are silence, or a non-verbal response. However, when English is the frame language and Speaker 2 is a bilingual discourse participant, then there is a total of five discourse options available, in addition to silence and a non-verbal response. These discourse options can be identified as:

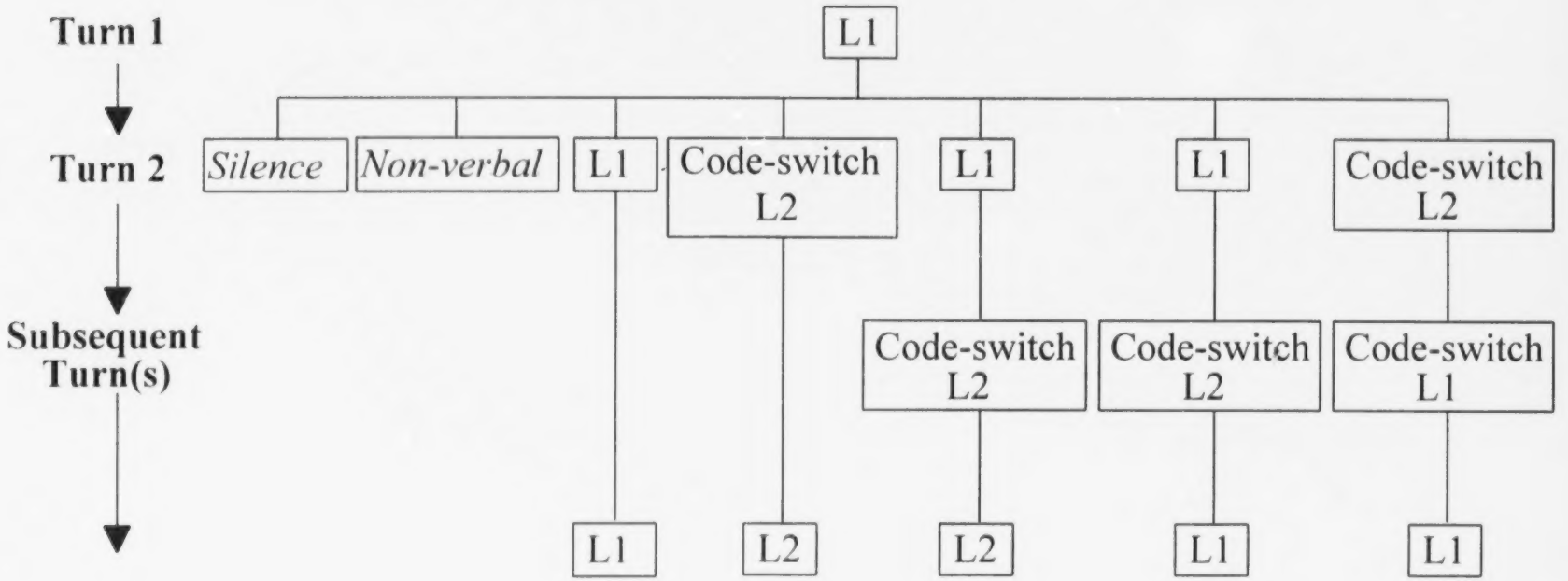

Figure 1 Generic patterns of adjacency pairs for bilingual discourse

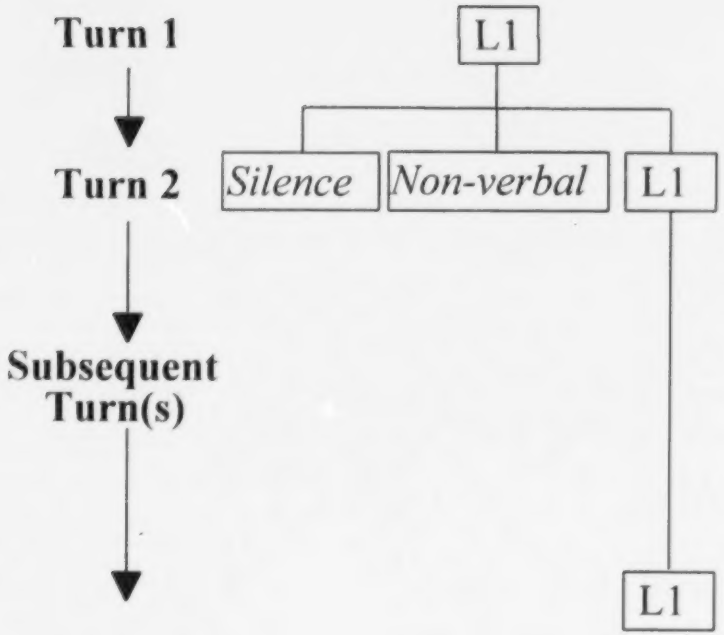

Figure 2 Discourse options available to monolingual speakers

For the bilingual discourse participant, the frame language of an interaction is important. Figure 1 outlines the generic pattern of discourse options available to bilinguals. It identifies a chain of possible linguistic outcomes that are available only to bilinguals. The options available to monolingual speakers are reduced. These are presented in Figures 2.

In keeping with the description of discourse offered by Conversational Analysis, a speaker's decision to change the discourse code at any point in the interaction impacts on the subsequent organisation and code of the on-going exchange. If code-switching is viewed as a linguistic resource that is only available to bilinguals, it is possible to regard it as purposeful (if often unconscious) linguistic behaviour. The context of the classroom and its prevailing rules of discourse limit the contribution that children as pupils are permitted to make to on-going interaction. This is particularly true for bilingual pupils.

These data provide further evidence to support Sylva et al's (1980) observation that the presence of an adult can exert an influence on a child's behaviour. They further demonstrates Willes' (1983) view that children very quickly become socialised into the norms of appropriate school behaviour, linguistic and social. Children quickly learn to be pupils. If this is so, then the implications of the dominant presence of monolingual teachers in classrooms with bilingual pupils may result in a language shift towards the dominant official language of the curriculum. If this trends becomes established then young children may remain disempowered within the school context but they main become agents of linguistic change beyond the school gates, in the communities where they live their lives.

The proposed framework is based on data from UK classrooms however, there is reason to speculate that it may reflect patterns of cross-cultural communication in

other contexts. There is a significant number of bilinguals worldwide (current estimates suggest that half of the world's population uses more than one language as part of their everyday lives). In recent years there has also been an increase in the number of communities where the official language of education is differs from the language(s) spoken in the homes of pupils (eg Singapore, England, New Zealand). The linguistic diversity within communities is gaining recognition. It is therefore increasingly the case that teachers and pupils may not share the same linguistic repertoires. It may be that they share only soome part of their languages in common. Patterns of cross-cultural communication in classrooms are therefore a significant feature of some education systems. If teachers are to understand the processes of learning and teaching then the nature of cross-cultural communication between monolingual teachers and bilingual pupils need further scrutiny.

The ideas presented here are at a very early stage in their evolution. Comments are particularly welcome from those working in similar contexts, with different language pairs.

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